575 563 668 The propagandists are mostly women who claim they are possessed by the spirit of Nyabingi. Every Nyabingi woman has at her disposal a certain number of abagirwa who are her servants but who often exploit for her the naïve Bahutu by exacting from them presents supposedly intended to honor Nyabingi [by inducing them] to thank her for protecting them from the Batutsi and even from the Europeans.

The Nyabingi sect has therefore a very harmful influence, not only because it keeps the Muhutu in worthless beliefs and takes advantage of his credulity by exacting from him large presents (baskets of peas, beans, and sorghum, and also sheep, goats, bull calves, and heifers) but especially because it preaches respect for an authority independent from the Mwami and excites hatred of the Batutsi chiefs and also of the occupying power. [105]

15. Social Classes

563 565 The Bahutu, dominated by the Batutsi, with the addition of a few groups of Batwa, constitute the population of the Banyarwanda.

But the Bahutu, like the Batutsi, are subdivided into several categories, each having a special name.

565 The poor Muhutu who has only a miserable patch of land, is called umutindi. If his poverty is less great, his name is umugabo. An umukungu is a man who is well provided for, owning several fields and numerous heads of cattle.

Similarly, according to their progressive wealth, the Batutsi are umukene, umukire, umutunzi, and umutware. The abatware make up a restricted aristocracy called imfura.

554 558 As we have seen, the favor of the Mwami or of the great chiefs may have the effect of appreciably improving the social position of even a ordinary Muhutu. On the other hand, an important chief may be reduced to the most miserable condition if he has displeased the king or if he has been cursed by his father.

[563] The Batwa are all on the same footing and are universally despised by the Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

727 567 In the past, enemy warriors were usually massacred. The noble women, reduced to slavery, were considered as Batutsikazi;

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

is thought inappropriate. This is the point of view alike of the inferior (and everyone in Ruanda, except the king, has a superior) and of the superior (and any Mututsi is the superior of a certain number of people). Bahutu are not, and are not expected to be, very self-controlled; they are correspondingly impressed by the external dignity of the Batutsi. An aristocratic caste usually emphasizes those differences which constantly remind others how far removed they are from the noble set.[1]

When inquiries were made as to the kind of reputation the Batutsi specially wanted to avoid, the answers given did not generally indicate qualities opposed to those thought desirable, but referred to reputations in which an external danger is involved. Above all, a Mututsi fears to be considered an enemy of the king. This is partly because he feels a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be reputed the king's enemy was formerly extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of all property, severance of all social relations, exile, or death. A Mututsi also fears to be considered a traitor to his chief. This is less dangerous but it involves sanctions: if a Mututsi has been disloyal to his lord (*shebuja*), the latter may take back from him all he gave him previously and eventually all his cattle.

All this relates to the good or bad reputations people desire or fear while living, but the Batutsi are equally concerned with their posthumous fame. To be remembered as a great warrior or a powerful cattle-owner was the normal ambition of any Mututsi. Some deaths were particularly glorious: for example, to be killed in battle or to lose one's life rather than surrender one's cattle, because this is to be deprived of the only means of living in a manner appropriate to one's rank.

The longing for fame after death seems to be deeper and commoner than in our culture. It is not unlike the Ciceronian concept of *gloria*. It is a desire to go on living in men's memory quite apart from a belief in a supernatural immortality and, like *gloria*, has nothing to do with mythological conceptions of the beyond. Banyarwanda do not think that the spirits of the dead will take pleasure from the great reputations they have on earth, or so at least our informants told us. 'If *bazimu* know perhaps the fame that the people from whom they come enjoy among the living, it is definitely not for that reason that we hope to be famous after our death.' It is possible, however, that it may be connected with the belief that the living will make more offerings to the *muzimu* of somebody who is widely remembered, though we did not find evidence of any belief that the spirits would suffer a kind of second death, and disappear completely if and when they were forgotten by the living.

To sum up, the ultimate values for the aristocracy are power and reputation. Children[2] and cattle are their main intermediate values in the sense

[1] There are, of course, other virtues that a Mututsi likes to be thought to possess, but the three we have mentioned seem the most important according to our informants.

[2] The preceding account might give the impression that for the Batutsi, children are only means to power and fame. This view would overlook the fact that people also enjoy

563 The descendants of this couple created the Basiete clan. They still
644 exercise great influence at court, and they possess numerous territories
554 (fees).
565 This event was not unprecedented, for the Hamitic kings, while maintaining the social distinctions with which we are already familiar, frequently made use of this device to reward highly deserving commoners.

This was the rule until quite recently.

Listed among the Bahutu who were admitted into the Batutsi caste and who contracted matrimonial alliances with them are the chief of the "cursers" (abahēnyi) clan, Agakwande, and the descendants of the great sorcerer Lunukamishyo. The latter form a closed clan known by the name of Abosha, and rank at court as sacrificer-diviners.

554 The keepers of the treasure (abanyabyuma), or abanyori, from
565 Mpanda village have likewise been raised to noble rank, and so has /467/ Bunyereri, the commander of the "Invincible" (Intalindwa) army.

The same was done to a number of foreigners from the Uswi, Bunyabungu, and other adjacent regions.

Innumerable men in the king's service (abanyagikali, abanyanzoga, etc.) were raised by his favor to noble rank and granted the government of some province or village. Prisoners of war who [527] had earned the confidence of their conquerors also rose to the ranks of the Batutsi. Chief Lusera, who was carried off from the Nkolé region at a very young age in the course of an expedition, was brought up by King Lwabugiri, who later gave him the village of Gitongati in the Nduga and his own daughter Kalungerwa in marriage.

The Badiga clan owes its nobility to a curious event in which
173 the Hamitic kings had no direct part.
● 558 The ancestor of this tribe, a man named Bidiga, was of the
563 Mutwa /Batwa/ race, and his parents, Sabulegeya and Rwiru, had come originally from the Bufundu province. They had moved to the village of Gahogo in the Nduga. Bidiga, their son, became a potter like his father. During a famine, on a day of torrential rain, a

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173 Mututsi /Batutsi/ woman named Nyirandoba sought shelter in Bidiga's
●558 hut without being aware of his social status. The potter gallantly
563 offered some food to the hunger-stricken lady.

Nyirandoba accepted eagerly. Meanwhile the sky had cleared and the woman, her hunger satisfied, took leave of her host after thanking him very kindly.

As she walked away, she heard a voice inviting Bidiga to take advantage of the improvement in the weather and go into the swamp to fetch some clay. Nyirandoba realized her mistake. She was forever dishonored. Everyone /468/ would know that she, a Mututsi woman, had entered the hut of a Mutwa and had taken food from the hand of a pariah.

Henceforth, no one in her own caste would be willing to associate with her.

Bidiga, who understood her uneasiness and misgivings, came to her aid and offered to marry her. The noble lady, very happy with the solution, became Bidiga's wife.

Not far from them there lived a Batutsi clan named Babambanganzi, who were in charge of one of the court herds known by the name of "black cows" (inka z'imikara, inkuke z'ibgami). Those people, who had no reasons to complain about Bidiga's proximity, made him their cowherd and put him in charge of the royal herd. Bidiga and his family gradually established close contact with the Hamites and contracted marriages with them which placed them in due course among the Batutsi ranks (1).

1. In view of all this, we can understand why the Hamitic type has lost its original purity to a greater or lesser extent in some of the clans belonging to this ethnic group. We may also add that the poorer Batutsi often take Bahutu wives.

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on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 348.

In the northwestern part of the above-mentioned axis the Batutsi are less numerous. Only in Bwischascha and above all in the district of Lubengera do they appear in larger numbers. (3)

3. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin), p. 505.

The Batutsi of Bugoye settled there only a few generations ago. They came there from Mukinjaga. The few Batutsi in Mulera came there a short time ago from Nduga.

101 167 The Batutsi have also migrated to the west across the eastern edge of the graben [Rift Valley]. Dr. Kandt (4) says the fol-

4. Ibid., p. 456.

lowing about the Batutsi in Kishari:

"Here (Tshove, Kishari) many Watussi visited us, simple, friendly people but less handsome and aristocratic than those of Urundi and Ruanda; they have to work. Here they are not the rulers of the country, but cattle breeders living in villages isolated from the original inhabitants who are agriculturalists. (It is indeed strange how sharp a boundary the Ruzizi River and Lake Kivu form in this respect: to the east whole groups of Watussi live as kings and chiefs of subject peoples; to the west they appear sporadically or, as in Kishari, in larger numbers, but in neither case as rulers.)... Later I heard that Kishari is the refuge for all Watussi who for some reason have had to flee from their homeland." [124]

241 •558 Despite the fact that conditions are very favorable for agriculture, the Batutsi have remained herdsmen, and only seldom have poverty-stricken Batutsi taken up agriculture. This happened to a family of Bagwabiro in Bugoye. Those Batutsi who till the

241 soil when in dire circumstances are scorned by their fellow tribes-
●558 men, and consequently they are absorbed into the mass of farmers who belong to another tribe.

231 The cow is the center of interest for the Batutsi. She domi-
576 nates one's whole life, both external and internal, his feelings and thoughts. She is the basis of all action, both conscious and spontaneous. For the Batutsi the cow is the most precious, beautiful, and beloved thing they own. For this reason she always is mentioned in compliments and polite phrases.

If you wish to extol a man's strength and handsomeness, you say to him: "uli mfizi (you are a bull)." With this designation, for example, Musinga's court honored His Highness, Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg. The other members of the expedition, in accordance with their rank, were given the title, "children of the great bull," which we Europeans certainly find less flattering. To a young man whom they wish to compliment on his handsomeness, they often say: "ufite amaso nki yi nyana (you have eyes like a calf)." For the same reason Europeans are often told that their beard is like a cow's tail, their hair like cow's hair, etc.

Not only the polite phrases of the Mututsi ["mu-," a prefix indicating singular in number] but his greeting as well is associated with the cow. He uses the word amasho, meaning "herd," which it seems, is an abbreviation of the phrase, "to you a herd." The reply is amasho ngore, "to you a female herd," or, in other words, "May you have cows that will give you calves." This greeting is common throughout Ruanda. I found it as far north as the Rutshuru. Beyond this river, on my way from Bugoye to the village of Rutshuru, I found that the people no longer responded to amasho.

576 Farewells are an exception. The Mututsi says: "Kumana (God be with you)."

Similarly, when they give thanks for a present, they say: "ulakarama, ulakahora n'Imana (live, meet Imana)."

In Mulera an older farewell seems to have been preserved which is said to occur in Nduga only in songs. The Mulera says: "Mahoro (peace be with you)." The returning traveler is greeted in a similar manner: "Waje mahoro (peace attends your coming)."

576 Finally, the person of higher rank always greets an inferior
554 first to show the latter that he has been noticed and is granted this

643 of the king who are recognized and fully qualified. The moment a
644 king has a son whom he recognizes, the queen mother is said to be sent away. For this reason she brings all her influence to bear (and this influence is, as a rule, very great) to prevent the king, as long as possible, from recognizing any of his children as fully qualified.

643 Bagaragu. The king is the owner of all the land and all the
423 cows in the country. He exercises his power by granting these lands and recalling them when he is displeased. In this manner the king appoints his officials who as such can be regarded as temporary large landowners. The king keeps them in office and on their land, but he can drive them out or increase their holdings at any time.

643 The king is omnipotent. The only thing that does not yield to him is the physically impossible. Thus, for example, he can find no one who is inclined to settle as chief in Ndorwa, for this would be too dangerous in spite of the eventual help of the king.

661 An individual's power and possessions depend chiefly on the
643 favor of the king. This is the case to such an extent that even
558 the privileged must always remain in contact with the king or even live at his court, otherwise they cannot hold on to their success or their possessions. No matter how wealthy a man is, he can lose everything if he has no allies and if someone more fortunate succeeds in getting the king to withdraw his favor.

643 Every fortune hunter is surrounded by a number of clients who
644 dog his footsteps in the hope of participating in the successes of their patron. One can judge the importance and the prospects of the master by the number of these second-class fortune hunters who often have to content themselves with nothing more than gifts of milk from the king.

644 When I lived in Nyanza, I had an opportunity at eleven o'clock every morning to see the mighty ones, with a following of 50 to 60 men, march up to the king to give him a morning greeting. Among these were also completely impoverished [257] devils who, although they were marching up to the king as his bagaragu, had only one Muhutu in their retinue.

The most intimate associates of the king are his high chiefs. They are his clients (bagaragu). At the time of my visit in Nyanza

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Inter-caste marriage was not prohibited between Hutu and Tutsi. Hutu informants say it happened frequently, Tutsi informants claim that such marriages were very rare, but that Tutsi often had Hutu concubines. This discrepancy shows clearly that for a Tutsi to take a Hutu as wife in a primary marriage entailed a loss of prestige. It was resorted to mainly because of poverty. Bride-wealth was lower in these inter-caste unions (not in the sense that the standard bride-wealth among Hutu was much lower than among Tutsi) and a Hutu girl worked harder than a Tutsi. It does not seem on the other hand that the Hutu girl was particularly proud of having a Tutsi husband. But it is not easy to assess the feelings of a girl in that respect, as no informant seems to have cared very much about them. A prosperous Hutu could marry a Tutsi girl, but then the bride-wealth was often greater than for a Tutsi (three cows instead of one). It happened also that a Tutsi cattle-lord (*shebuja*) would grant a daughter to one of his Hutu clients. Here again the feeling of the girl was unknown to informants. Such a match could be eagerly sought by a Hutu social climber, but in general Hutu opinion did not look upon it with favour. In a caste society only a few atypical persons are anxious to get as near as they can to the higher stratum. Hutu and Tutsi informants considered any question suggesting intermarriage with Twa as very insulting.

It was possible to marry a foreign woman, often a war captive who had become a sort of domestic slave. The bride-wealth then had to be paid to her master. Sometimes Ruanda living near the borders married a girl of the neighbouring people (such as Nkole, Rundi) when peaceful relations with that particular people had lasted for some time. There was much reluctance to let a Ruanda girl marry an alien.

Within the borders of Ruanda, local proximity was an important positive factor for Hutu in the choice of a mate. They did not travel very much and as a marriage was primarily a patrilineage affair, they had to know the inzu of the prospective bride or groom and they only knew the groups residing nearby. Tutsi, and particularly those of importance, were less localized than Hutu. They had to go often to the court; they were appointed to administrative charges in one part of the country, then in another one. Consequently inter-regional marriage was favoured as it usefully extended kinship connexions.

What were the qualifications socially considered as the most

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their immediate superiors without endangering the principle of authority and social discipline.

From the point of view of social cohesion between the different strata of the population, it should be mentioned also that Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa were affiliated to the same army. But as the last two groups had only a secondary and not a fighting role in war, one cannot think that their association with the army was extremely important in this respect.

(*d*) *Redistribution of wealth*

Within Ruanda society, the main function of the army was that it acted as an agency for the redistribution of wealth, i.e. consumption goods and cattle.

Fresh milk provided by the *inkuke*, milk brought in jars, agricultural produce, spoils of the chase, pottery, butcher's meat, and steers utilized for divination purposes were consumption goods. Included in this category was statute labour (building and repairing royal enclosures). Most of these goods could not be kept for a long time and had thus to be provided regularly. This kind of tribute is characteristic of cultures which have neither a sufficient knowledge of the means of storing perishable goods nor a standard value of exchange permitting the dues to be collected in 'money'.

The beneficiary was the king. In this respect the army fulfilled a function very similar to that of the administrative structure.

A second category of wealth redistributed through the channel of the army was cattle. They constituted a special category of goods because of the particular significance of their possession in Ruanda society. Cattle, whatever their economic value, had a unique prestige value. One was as proud to be the owner of a beautiful herd of long-horned cows as, in some other societies, to possess race-horses. During the European Middle Ages, a noble had to have some landed property. Without going down in public estimation and losing his status, he could not have exchanged his real estate for gold and other goods of that kind even if they were 'worth' much more. Cattle in Ruanda were also noblemen's property. A Tutsi who did not own any cattle was still a Tutsi but a very poor one, dangerously slipping down in the social stratification, whereas a Hutu who possessed cattle was very near the aristocratic group and not infrequently could marry a Tutsi girl.

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Tutsi control. A Hutu who in exchange for labour or agricultural goods had been able to acquire a few cows had necessarily to ask for the protection of a lord in order that his cows should not be seized upon under some pretence by a socially powerful neighbour. Then he received cows from his lord and they were merged with his own *imbata*. Consequently, if the agreement had to be ended, the lord could take away besides the cows he had granted, those which had previously belonged to the client.

The two political structures benefited most those among the Tutsi who were rulers. The feudal structure, by granting only a precarious possession of cattle to the clients, left in the hands of the Tutsi the ultimate control of cattle, symbol of social prestige and instrument of power. On the other hand, by the same *buhake*, Tutsi were obtaining the advantages of being provided with labour and agricultural produce. From that standpoint, the Ruanda feudal system granted a minority the means to live—and to live better than the bulk of the population—without having to participate in the manual labour of economic production, by the moderate and clever exploitation of the majority.

In order that an aristocratic structure may perpetuate itself without change as long as it is profitable to the superior caste, it is not sufficient to prevent an invasion or even an infiltration of members of inferior groups who, by modifying the proportion between exploiters and exploited, would completely disturb the smooth working of the system. It is also necessary that all those who are by birth members of the upper caste should live according to the standards of their group. It is most unusual for an upper caste to regard the falling off of some of its members without uneasiness and dismay. This is particularly true when the group position of power is rationalized in terms of innate superiority. Some modern governments in Africa, for example, are much concerned about the 'poor whites' because their decadence threatens the myth of the white racial superiority.

The Tutsi had a similar pretence to a natural superiority as has been pointed out already. Consequently, if one of them was unable to support himself in a way becoming to his caste and seemed on the point of slipping down into the group of those who work manually, it was regarded as a shocking situation that should at once be put right. The remedy was to become the client of a richer Tutsi. The cows thus received, allowed him to subsist in

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traditions were transmitted. But a multiplicity of kinship group agents cannot be entrusted with a function as important for the caste as the socialization of its young members and their training in the qualities and virtues which had permitted their forbears to obtain power. Consequently, in Ruanda some formal institutes of education and instruction were set up. The *intore* companies in which every young man of the Tutsi caste spent several years, fulfilled these functions.

In order to avoid the dogma of the innate superiority of the upper layer being questioned if one of its members had to be cast out because he was unable to live up to the standards of his group, the clientage system acted as an institutionalized means of rescuing such people. It should be mentioned that the rescuer was not losing anything, as the Tutsi saved from social death could give him in return what was mainly expected from any Tutsi client: his attendance and his councils.

The tendency which leads a powerful group to constitute a closed caste, to maintain jealously its advantages, and to try to increase them, cannot be left without something to counterbalance it. Each caste, as Linton says, is a society in itself.[2] If the caste accentuates too much the characteristics which make it a socially complete group, isolated in the society of which it is only one layer, the cohesion of that society may be destroyed. Consequently, powerful factors of cohesion are needed to check the tendency towards social disintegration that exists within any caste structure. I have described solidarity factors already, but they may be summarized here.

First, there are certain groupings in which Tutsi and Hutu were to be found together. Names of the Tutsi and Hutu clans were similar. This suggested a certain solidarity among the bearers of the same clan name, however minimal it was. A comparable kind of Hutu participation existed in the armies. It is possible that the fact of having been commonly associated in dangerous circumstances gave a deeper feeling of unity to Hutu and Tutsi. The Ryangombe sect was open to Hutu and Twa as well as to Tutsi. Ryangombe himself is said to have addressed his invitation to join to every Ruanda, explicitly calling the Tutsi, the Hutu, the Twa, the men and the women.[3] As initiation ritual took place among kinsmen, however, there was no real inter-caste mingling in the

[2] Cf. Linton, 1936, pp. 130 f. [3] De Lacger, 1939, vol. I, p. 257.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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wives to the *mwami* and the *baganwa* or by a cross-cousin. (The traditional Rundi rule favouring cross-cousin marriage is being abandoned by all classes of the population as the influence of Christianity increases).

No other women than those of the very good Tutsi patrilineages can rise socially by means of marriage. The marriage rule for all men except the king and the princes requires that a man marry a woman of the same rank as his own or of a higher rank. A woman cannot be declassed, and caste rules are not relevant. If a Rundi male should marry a woman of inferior rank—the very idea makes men tremble with disgust—he would immediately have to be declassed to the rank of his wife.[9] There are occasionally informal sexual unions between Tutsi and Hutukazi. A natural child born of such a union would not be formally acknowledged by his father, although he might provide a cow for his son and a Hutu husband for the mother of his child.

The Tutsi, it is said, give a dowry of cows, the Hutu a dowry of hoes. However, the Hutu who are liked by princes and become *batware* can give cows. A poverty stricken herder may give his daughter in marriage to a wealthy Hutu. Because it is always the father who determines the caste and patrilineage of children, a Tutsikazi may find herself the mother of Hutu children. She will be humiliated by the necessity to obey a social inferior and she will be disdained by the Tutsi and the more fortunate Tutsikazi. On the other hand, poverty is shameful and painful. Moreover, a Tutsikazi will probably be treated better by a Hutu than by a Tutsi husband. Always a Hutu, the husband nevertheless enjoys a certain prestige when he has a wife of superior status. He expects many children from her—it is said that Tutsikazi are more fertile than Hutukazi—and his children will have the good manners and intelligence of a Tutsi, his sons will know how to get rich and thereby acquire Tutsi wives.

For each caste, there are stereotypes of physical type and character. Great height, thinness, and an extraordinarily narrow skull are typical of the Tutsi, and great height, generous fleshy covering and a light skin of Tutsikazi.[10] A Hutu five feet tall will not be likely to make a mistake about his inferiority in the presence of a Tutsi of six and one-half or seven feet tall, nor is a Twakazi of four feet eight inches in height who is dancing for a six-foot tall Tutsikazi likely to forget her place in the social scale. Among the Tutsi, the women seem to be much fleshier and somewhat shorter than the men. The Hutukazi and the Twakazi, however, seem to be taller and more substantially constructed than the men of the